668 The Arumpone and that they are asking that he be replaced by the deposed Arumpone. He tells me that there is much friction and says that the Arumpone dares not sleep in Makassar. This may be the reason for what the Dutch call his laziness.

103 In addition to Ceram there is a little island in the bay here called Pombo, Portuguese for "dove."

192 I noted the use of the word "Hindu" to mean pagan.

262 251 Sago is the big food here, but Gaspersz said that they must have rice at least on Sunday. It seems that sago saved the lives of many here during the Japanese time. Cakes made of sago will keep for years when put in tins.

764 778 They talked about the Chinese plates being so valuable here. They are needed for adat ceremonies, for example at funerals. Many of these plates, however, were lost during the Japanese time, and the Dutch bought many of these at a high price.

567 The Radja said that plenty of people here are known to be the descendants of slaves although slavery as such was abolished long ago. Such people are called buda' here.

621 614 There are twelve soa in this kampong but only four kepala soa, because the Radja says they are unwieldy.

In talking about exogamy Gaspersz referred to the fam, and this is evidently a single-name lineage.

162 771 Of the present eighty-three thousand people on Ambon Island, about half are Mohammedans.

583 I tried to stir up something about a mother's brother's daughter marriage, and got a little spark. They said nowadays they like to marry a cousin as close as possible. I'll follow this

A

Amahusu: I asked about jobs here and the
463 assistant said that forty per cent of the people
●162 were working in Ambon as tukang. This term is generally applied to wage workers who are not coolies. It implies those who work in camps, offices, hospitals, etc. He said twenty per cent are farmers, and twenty per cent are fishers. The rest have various occupations and do different types of work.

T

Tulehu: I started working with the schedule.
124 It looks as though I will have to make them follow my questions if I am to get much systematic material. It turns out that the assistant is not very smart or well informed, but the Radja is really very much up on things Ambonese.

In Tulehu there is not much localization by
565 class, although the Radja says there used to be.
178 Nevertheless, in circles around his house (in
621 eleven houses) live exclusively the members of
596 the Radja's family (extended). Also, in another
614 section, all the people are still of a certain "clan" (I take it that this is near the pier), who the assistant thought were bangsawan rendah but who the Radja says are orang biasa. And the soa used to be localized but are no longer so treated. How can a local group be de-localized and still exist? This is an example of the peculiarities of Ambon. There are still kepala soa, but no more soa! I must check on this again. [see below.]

Fifty years ago the houses were bigger, says
342 the Radja. The size of the kampong has grown
178 since then, as is witnessed by the suburbs which
361 are starting up. The assistant says, and the
731 Radja agrees, that in 1931 an earthquake laid the town in waste and the people had to move out. Then they moved back and rebuilt what structures they needed.

A

563 The Butonese, however, come down frequently,
[438] especially to sell their produce in town. They
make wax for ironing and sell it. There are at
●[162] least two hundred of them in the kampong now
(out of nine hundred!). What a story! And
what a thing to do if a study could be made of
[551] these folk! They all have the prefix on their
names of La for men and Wa for women. See the
census for further material.^ There is no mosque
in the hills, but they do have a modin. They
[346] use the mosque in the southern part of the city.
The Butonese in Eri and Latuhalat have their own
mosque, in Eri. My assistant says that there
are Butonese in every negri, whether Mohammedan
or Christian, in Ambon. This is a real story.

167 When they come to this area they usually come
married. Few of them return once they have ar-
rived and settled here.

Everyone in the kampong has been outside of
the kampong. The assistant seems to think that
about ninety per cent have left Leitimor at some
time for Hitu. I doubt this. In fact, I think
he meant about forty per cent or sixty per cent.
About twenty per cent, and these mostly the
soldiers and those who went to Dobu for pearl
work (as in Tulehu), have ever left their island.
My assistant has never been off the island. Dur-
[727] ing the war three hundred were taken to Ceram by
the Japanese. Most of them died.

Only one person, named Pupella, has left
Indonesia from this kampong. [He is a PIM oppo-
nent of Pulapessie. The two are now at the Round
Table Conference in Holland.]

871 I asked where Pulapessie had come from. He
554 said Saparua. Pulapessie is the kepala daerah
here. Manuhutu is the wakil kepala daerah. He
too is from Saparua as is Soumokil. I asked how
come all the bosses come from Saparua. He said
with a kind of sardonic grin that this was true.

^ [See 4: Kennedy, OB1 Indonesia, cat. 116, p. 322 --
Analyst]

T

162 I am told there are more women than men.
842 The figure runs something like one thousand seventy-five to one thousand. My informant does not know the reason why but says that the folk here have few sons and many daughters. He pointed out houses where there were only daughters in the family. Across the street there is a house with one son and seven daughters. Their children in turn are all daughters! Here they like to have more women because they bear children and thus the population is increased. As far as preference for sex in children, the mother wants girls and the father wants boys. He especially wants to have at least one son. If they have to be all of one sex, it had better be all boys than all girls.
[614] There must be at least one son to keep the name
[769] of the family and the fam from going out of
[796] existence. This links up with the ancestor cult too, as this is patrilineal. And in Mohammedanism the memorial feasts are in the hands of the sons. Thus the tahlil are feasts of commemoration in the mosque, or anniversaries called festa hari mati.

586 At a wedding a man says the talak giving the reasons for possible divorce. If it is said later once or twice he may remarry or reconcile. But if it is said three times, no remarriage or coming together again is possible. Here, unlike the Buginese, the men are not mean and if they separate they will give the women divorce papers so they may remarry.

586 Remarkable (and this is evidently Mohammedan):
793 If after a triple talak has been said and the man
837 wants to remarry the woman, the imeum and all other mosque officials must come to her house. She is there in bed with a special kind of mosquito net over her which is never used other-

A

583 435 The bride price is paid and must be paid. The adat regulations in this regard of different negri are not the same. The local rule states that the price must consist of three and one-half bolts of white cloth, three bottles of gin, and one bottle of beer. The family of the girl receives this price and divides it. Today it is not easy to get the cloth and the gin, so many people pay money. The standard price, in such a case, is fl. 40.00. Some may also pay the fl. 40 in addition to giving the cloth and gin! A man from another negri must pay the girl's negri fl. 25 in addition to the regular fee.

585 431 At the wedding, guests give money gifts. Often enough is received to pay for the feast, but the festivities last so long and are so big that they seldom break even.

591 602 He says that maybe they do feel a little freer with the mother's side of the family. He doesn't stress this, however, and notes that with the prevalence of patrilocal residence that the father's parents who are usually living help to take care of the children and hence the bond with the father's family is strengthened.

162 The ratio between the sexes is just about equal here.

586 842 The causes of divorce here are: desertion for one year, and adultery by the woman. Divorce may also be obtained for adultery by the man, and abuse by the man, but these are difficult cases. Barrenness is no cause for divorce. He says that the folk here say that children are the will of God and that if they have none that is his will.

There are very few divorces here. The Radja is one case.

611 591 423 The children may choose where they will live,

1 [i.e., the assistant, Musi'l2 --Analyst]

665 strife. For example, in Saparua especially,
578 there are fathers who order their sons out of
593 the house because of their political views.
This confirms my idea that the young are for a
united Indonesia.

778 Soya: Rehatta says that they have a flat batu
pemali here.

000 Java: Young Gaspersz says that the Java lurah
area is like a district. In it there may be
several kampongs, with a kebayan of kepala kam-
pongs. In the desa there is no organization,
not even a secretary. If an important matter
arises, however, all the people are called for a
meeting. He says that Mohammedanism is very
weak, and there are plenty of places where there
is no learning of the Koran, nor any priests.
He says also that there are plenty of children
who do not go to school, and this holds for the
prewar period and for now. He says that the old
communalism is largely gone and that the land is
individual property by and large. People may
buy and sell land within the desa, and thus plenty
have sold themselves landless.

Ambon: I worked up the tables on Amahusu,
Tulehu, and Naku on the ship. I still have to get
the Elpaputi material by mail. [Already included
above.]

T

I sailed on the "Raeal" again on December 2 and
got to Makassar on December 5. I received flowers
from the Tulehu Radja on the ship.

TULEHU

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	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Children under 15	Children under 15 per adult
Kampong Lama	242	250	96.8	181	
Kampong Tengah	357	420	85.1	285	

T

TULEHU

	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Children under 15	Children under 15 per adult
Kampong Baroe	340	376	90.1	243	
Kampong Huru-nalla	155	140	111.1	109	
Kampong Rupa Itu	21	10	210.0	6	
Total	1115	1196	93.2	824	0.56
Buton Kam-pongs					
Hata Kailolo Uwe	143	107	133.3	121	
Air Mata Tudjuh	121	121	100.0	109	
Rupa Itu	62	50	124.0	43	
Total	326	278	117.3	273	0.82
Grand Total	1441	1474	97.8	1097	0.61

	Total Population	Houses	Inhabitants per House	Children under 15 per house
Kampong Lama	492	130	3.8	
Kampong Tengah	777	182	4.3	
Kampong Baroe	716	178	4.0	
Kampong Huru-nalla	295	67	4.4	
Kampong Rupa Itu	31	6	5.2	
Totals	2311	563	4.1	1.47

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	Total Population	Houses	Inhabitants per House	Children under 15 per house
[563] Buton Kampongs				
Hata Kailolo Uwe	250	44	5.7	
Air Mata Tudjuh	242	40	6.1	
Rupa Itu	112	21	5.3	
Total	604	105	5.7	2.60
Grand Total	2915	668	4.4	1.65

	Schooled or Literate	% Schooled
162 Kampong Lama	124	25.2
212 Kampong Tengah	305	38.9
871 Kampong Baroe	238	33.1
621 Kampong Hurunalla	55	18.6
Kampong Rupa Itu	1	3.2
Total	723	31.1
[563] Buton Kampongs		
Hata Kailolo Uwe	31	12.4
Air Mata Tudjuh	17	7.0
Rupa Itu	20	17.9
Total	68	11.2
Grand Total	791	27.0

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(Note: Almost all the Butonese are concentrated in the three kampongs listed above. There are six of them, however, in Tengah and twenty-two of them in Hurunalla. These are included in the above with the negri folk. But in Rupa Itu,

T

162 which is mainly Butonese, the thirty-one negri folk
563 there are separated and put in with the totals for
128 the negri folk.)

Separating off the Butonese, of whom there are
162 a total of 632 (6 in Tengah, 22 in Hurunalla, 250
565 in Hata Kailolo Uwe, 242 in Air Mata Tudjuh, and
621 112 in Rupa Itu), the distribution of other classes of the population are as follows:

	Commoners	Nobles	Slaves	Ceram Slaves
Kampong Lama	456	1	8	0
Kampong Tengah	680	12	2	0
Kampong Baroe	692	0	0	4
Kampong Hurunalla	231	1	0	4
Kampong Rupa Itu	19	0	0	0
Total	2078	14	10	8

	Chinese	Javanese	Arab	Ceram	Buginese	Ternate
162 Kampong Lama	6	15	3	2	0	1
563 Kampong Tengah	28	3	12	15	6	0
621 Kampong Baroe	0	0	2	6	1	1
Kampong Hurunalla	0	0	0	22	7	0
Kampong Rupa Itu	0	0	0	12	0	0
Total	34	18	17	57	14	2

Then there are five people from Banda (Tengah) one person from Gorontalo (Baroe), six Minahasans (one in Tengah, five in Baroe), six Indians (Tengah), five Ambelau (one Tengah, four Baroe), and eight

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people from Kei (Hurunalla).

There are forty-three hadjis, fifty-four widows, and five children of unmarried women. One unmarried woman of thirty-eight has three of the latter; the other two have one each.

Occupations

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568

Farmer	1014	(including 357 Butonese, 1 Chinese; also many women)
Peddler	242	(including 2 Arabs; all except 2 are women; the main way is by selling in the market place)
Fishermen	133	
Sago Chopper	125	
Small toko owner	58	(including 1 Chinese and 3 Arabs)
Chauffeur	33	
Bus Porter	32	
Carpenter	28	
Tailor	19	
Toko owner	17	(including 11 Chinese, 2 Butonese, and 1 Arab)

These are the big ten occupations. And note that nearly all the Butonese are farmers. Nearly all peddlers are women. Most big toko owners are Chinese. Most small toko owners are native. This kampong is a bus terminal and a sago selling area.

Other Occupations

Auto owner (perhaps all are bus owners)	12	(including 1 Chinese
Barber	4	
Launderer	4	

T

Other Occupations

Machinist	1	
Button maker	1	
Shoemaker	2	
Guru Islam	10	
Guru Sekolah	6	
Smith	3	
Woodcutter	12	
Coolie	13	
Pearl diver (Dobo)	4	
Hospital attendant	2	
Lamp maker	1	
Dukun (midwife)	3	
Auto mechanic	2	
Restaurateur	7	
Postman	1	
Clerk (Ambon)	2	
Motorboat captain	2	
Motorboat machinist	2	(including 1 Butonese)
Prau sailor	12	(all from Ceram)
Total number of recorded jobs	1807	

Offices

The radja is of the Ohorella fam. The tuan tanah is of the Umarella fam (farmer). The four kepala soa are from the following fam: Lating (farmer), Lain (farmer), Wakang (fisherman), Moni (fisherman; this man is also the kepala dati Kottahatuhaha).

(There should be eight more kepala soa, making twelve in all, but the Radja says this would be too unwieldy. Evidently there were kepala soa in Ei and Teri until recently, because he tried to run them in too. Evidently the kepala soa are

T

582 declined to practically nothing. This is one
178 hundred per cent different from the Christian
182 negri, where the endogamous taboo still holds.
614 In this respect, at least, the Christians are more conservative. Gani says this is because they are following Mohammedan marriage rules more and more, and fam endogamy is not taboo in Mohammedanism. Thus we can see that in marriages Mohammedanism has much to say, whereas Christianity says little, except about incest.

[162]

Fam

Lestaluhu (Lating)	600
Ohorella (Wakang)	305
Nahumaruri (Ei)	241
Umarella (Aser)	133
Tawainella (Lou)	118
Kottahatuhaha (Moni)	110
Tehupelussori (Teri)	87
Tuasalamoni (Lain)	81
Tuasamu (Tuni)	52
Hunusalela (Lou Laut)	24
Pari (Pari)	21
Sarlatta (Wani)	14
Wakang (Wakang)	10
Total	1796

[563]

Butonese	632
Ceram	65
Chinese	34
Javan	18
Indian	6
Other Indonesians	41
Elsewhere in Ambon Islands	323
Total	2915

789 told me my first guna-guna story about Ambon, where he had been before; and he was Dutch.
A

AMAHUSU

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	Total	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Houses	Population per House
Wakang	297	139	158	88.0	63	4.7
Nahel	227	103	124	83.1	50	4.6
Westopong	202	103	99	104.0	44	4.6
Butonese	161	78	83	94.0	33	4.9
Total	887	423	464	91.2	190	4.7

	All Children	Children per House	Children to Adults
Wakang	174	2.8	1.4
Nahel	116	2.3	1.0
Westopong	111	2.5	1.2
Butonese	96	2.9	1.5
Total	497	2.6	1.3

	Children under 15	Children under 15 per House	Children under 15 to Adults
Wakang	113	1.8	0.6
Nahel	86	1.7	0.6
Westopong	72	1.7	0.6
Butonese	84	2.6	1.1
Total	355	1.9	1.3

212
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871 In Amahusu literacy is one hundred per cent among all except the Butonese. The Butonese are only nine per cent literate (schooled), but now the law makes the children go to school, and this will change things in the near future.

A

Classes

	Nobles	Javanese	Boano (Ceram)	Other Ambonese
Wakang	23	2	0	5
Nahel	30	3	1	10
Westopong	22	1	0	5
Total	75	6	1	20

A & T

Thus there are very few outsiders as against the many outsiders in Tulehu. There are no Chinese, Arabs, or any others except the above and the Butonese.

A

As far as religion is concerned, there are 688 Protestants, 161 Mohammedans (Butonese), and 38 Pentecostals.

About 39 individuals speak Dutch. He lists 22 as certain, 11 in school, including 6 women and 16 men. Of the 22, 14 are between the ages of 12 and 19, 4 are between 20 and 29, one is between 30 and 39, 2 are between 40 and 49, and one is above 50.

Occupations

Farmer	64 (plus 86 Butonese, equals 150)
Peddler	69 (nearly all women; a great sago cake place)
Sago baker	51
Carpenter	50
Pensioner	30
Woodcutter	20
Fisherman	12
Tailor	10
Mason	8

A

Occupations

	Clerk	6
	Teacher	5
	Postman	4
	Potter	4 (all women)
	Bus porter	3
	Coolie	3
	Palm tappers	2
	Hospital attendant	2
	Small toko owner	2
	Barber	1
	Chauffeur	1
	Machinist	1
	Foreman	1
	News peddler	1
	Prau sailor	1 (Butonese)
	Contractor	1
	Watchman	1
	Sago chopper	1
	Boat machinist	1
	Gas pump man	1
	Total	356

Offices

Radja:	Da Costa
Tuan tanah:	Mainake
Kapitan:	Mainake, Soplanit
Kepala soa:	Silooy, Mainake, Soplanit
Kewang:	Silooy, Waas
Marinyo:	Matitaputi (2), Mainake, Musila, Alfons
Kepala dati:	Silooy (4), Matitaputi (2), Mainake, Da Costa, Ferdinandus, Soplanit
Elected saniri	Silooy (2), Pupella

A

624 Note: There should also be a kepala dati from Saliha, Pupella, and Akiaar.

829 Twelve people here can draw a map of Ambon Island, Indonesia, and the world. They are all in their twenties, except the teacher who is fifty. They are all men except one who is a woman clerk.

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	Fam		
Silooy	120	(dati)	
Matitaputi	60	(dati)	
Nussi	50		
Mainake	56	(dati)	
Tomasila	42		
Da Costa	33	(dati)	
Ferdinandus	32	(dati)	There are 49
Soplanit	31	(dati)	other fam names
Lecatompessi	30		with 89 members.
Musila	29		These are all
Saliha	20	(dati)	Ambonese. Note
Pupella	16	(dati)	the spread of
Isaac	16		fam.
Tahalele	15		
Waas	12		
Nunumete	11		
Nanlohi	9		
Maspaitella	7		
Gommis	7		
Latumeten	7		
Akiaar	1	(dati)	

582 Marriages show a complete scatter, but evidently
124 there is no endogamy. There are seven cases that
614 might be, and I am sending a letter to ask if he merely forgot to put in the woman's maiden name.

848 There are nine women who seem to have children
124 out of wedlock, but this must be wrong. I think he forgot to get the names straight. I will write about this too.

A

000 about this too.

582 The scatter is amazing. The greatest fre-
614 quency is 8 Silooy--other. There are 5 Matitaputi --other, 5 Mainake--other, 4 Pupella--other, 4 Si-lOOy--Mainake, and thence to others. There is no pattern at all. There are 10 other--other. There are also 4 Da Costa--other and 4 Ferdinandus--other.

167 Living outside Amahusu there are 93 names, which means that about 250 persons with families live outside. All of them, however, are within Indonesia, none elsewhere. The 93 include 69 married men and 24 bachelors. There are 62 in Java, 5 in the Moluccas, 20 in New Guinea, 1 in Sumatra, 2 in Borneo, 8 in Celebes, and none in the Lesser Sundas.

463 There are 8 clerks(7 in New Guinea, 1 in
167 Celebes), 1 policeman (in New Guinea), 2 telegraph men (1 in New Guinea, 1 in Celebes), 2 gurus (1 in Java, 1 in Celebes), 7 preachers (6 in Java, 1 in Celebes; including 5 Pentecostals). There are 78 soldiers.

N

162
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NAKU

	Total	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Houses	Inhabitants per House
Negri	591	292	299	97.7	115	5.1
Butonese	28	15	13	115.4	5	5.6
Total	619	307	312	98.4	120	5.2

	Children under 15	Children under 15 to Adults	Children under 15 per House
Negri	252	0.7	2.2
Butonese	11	0.7	2.2
Total	263	0.9	2.2

N

	All Children	Children to Adults	Children per House
Negri	364	1.6	3.2
Butonese	19	2.1	3.8
Total	383	1.6	3.2

All are schooled here except for the 28 Butonese. They are not yet schooled, but when the new law takes effect they may be forced to attend next year (but if there are required fees, how will they be able to do it?). Joseph says that when he exhorts the Butonese to send their children to school they say they will think about it. He says there are some Butonese children in school and that they make superior students.

In Naku there are 7 nobles, 34 other Ambonese, 4 Javans, 1 Sumatran, and 28 Butonese. This means there are 7 nobles and 68 other Ambonese or outsiders.

Occupations

All except the following are farmers and peddlers. The former include many women, and the latter are nearly all if not all women:

Carpenter	3
Fisherman	4
Pensioner	3
Teacher	2 (should be 3)
Preacher	1
Mason	2
Total	15 (should be 16)

Offices

Radja Gaspersz

N

Offices

624

Tuan tanah--mauëng	Pessiwarissa
Kapitan	Warella
Malessi	Alfons
Kepala soa	De Fretes (Patti)
Kepala soa	Pessiwarissa (Pessi)
Kepala soa	Alfons (Huwae)
Kepala dati	Polwai
Kepala dati	Pessiwarissa 1
Kepala dati	Pessiwarissa 2
Kepala dati	Pessiwarissa 3
Kepala dati	Pattileuw I
Kepala dati	Pattileuw II
Kepala dati	De Fretes
Kepala dati	Waas
Kepala dati	Warella
Kepala dati	Piris
Kepala dati	Huwae (Alfons man)
Kepala dati	Alfons
Kepala dati	Gaspersz
(Thus there are 13 kepala dati in all	
Marinyo	De Fretes

Fam

614
162

Pessiwarissa	99		
Gaspersz	77		
Piris	66		
De Fretes	65		
Telussa	48		
Alfons	38	Huwae	0
Muskitta	28		
Waas	26		
Warella	18		
Pattileuw	16		
Polwai	3		
Gommis	2		

N

	Fam
614 162 Others	100
Total	586
Butonese	28
Grand total	614 (should be 619)

Marriages

582 614 One marriage is with the pela negri Ema. All children of this marriage are now dead. All marriages show complete scatter, but there is no case of fam endogamy. There are 9 Gaspersz--other, 9 Pessiwarissa--other, 5 Gaspersz--De Fretes, 5 other--other, 4 Alfons--other, and thence on down.

000 I left Ambon on the "Raeal" on December 2. I met Kattenburg in Makassar and we are leaving for Ende [Flores] on December 9. The strike here may delay us three days. I made a trip to Watampone with Soumokil. It was a waste of time. There is much tension here. Van Heekeren was attacked in Sumba near Waingapu by a crowd thinking that the whites were seeking a head for a new pasanggrahan. At least he says so, and he says that underneath this are the old superstitions and that they emerge unpredictably. However, he says that never before had he felt so insecure as in this recent Sumba incident. People are disturbed psychologically all over. They beat him with sticks and stones, and the crowd grew as they advanced. There are great magic ideas in Sumba, and one big radja, who is now becoming impotent, is going mad and becoming megalomaniac. However, he is worshiped because of his magic power.

On the way to Watampone with Soumokil I saw